DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 247 364 UD 023 745

TITLE	A Survey of Public Attitudes toward Refugees and Immigrants. Report of Findings.
INSTITUTION	Kane, Parsons and Associates, Inc., New York, N.Y.; United States Committee for Refugees, Inc., New York, N.Y.
SPONS AGENCY	Rockefeller Foundation, New York, N.Y.
PUB DATE	Apr 84
NOTE	80p.; Appended questionnaires may be marginally legible.
PUB TYPE	Reports - Research/Technical (143)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC04 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	*Immigrants; Migration; *Political Attitudes; *Public Opinion; *Refugees; *Social Attitudes; Surveys

ABSTRACT

The attitudes of 950 adults toward refugee and immigration issues were surveyed in February 1984. Efforts were made to attain a fair mix of ethnicities in the sample but, in the end, data show few differences, between demographically different groups. In summary, findings suggest that most American adults do not view these issues as especially important when compared to other problems facing the country. However, most Americans have a very incomplete understanding of these issues. Fewer than half of those polled can correctly explain the difference between refugees and immigrants; most are unaware of the relative magnitude of the numbers of refugees and immigrants entering the country; and there are widespread misconceptions as to the countries from which refugees come. Almost two-thirds of those questioned feel both that too many foreigners are now coming to the United States and that the number of refugees entering the country should be lowered. None of the five arguments in favor of admitting refugees is endorsed by a majority of the public--and, most often, admission of refugees is opposed out of fear of their taking jobs away from Americans. Surprisingly, however, majorities of the public endorse admitting each of ten imaginary individuals whose profiles match those of typical entrants to this country. This contradiction of hostility towards groups vs. humanitarianism towards individuals suggests the great complexity of public opinion on these issues. Considerable revisions are necessary in our ideas about how the public views and understands refugee and immigration issues. (KH)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED247364

Kane, Parsons & Associates, Inc.

JUL 11 1984
UD023745

A SURVEY OF PUBLIC ATTITUDES TOWARD
REFUGEES AND IMMIGRANTS

Report of Findings

SUBMITTED TO: UNITED STATES COMMITTEE FOR REFUGEES

April 1984

© American Council for Nationalities Service

UD023745

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
Roger P Winter
U.S. Comm. for Refugees
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)
✓ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.
• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official NIE position or policy.

1995 Broadway
New York, New York 10023
(212) 799 4100

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
INTRODUCTION	1
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	3
ANALYTICAL DISCUSSION	
Part I --- Importance of Refugees and Other Problems	7
Part II --- Public Understanding of Immigration Issues	12
A --- Awareness of Differences Between Refugees and Immigrants	12
B --- Self-Judgments As To Knowledge and Opinions About Refugees	17
C --- Perceptions of Characteristics of Refugees, Legal Immigrants and Undocumented Aliens	20
D --- Perceptions of the Numbers of Types of Persons Entering the United States	25
E --- Perceptions of Countries From Which Refugees Come to the United States	28
Part III --- Attitudes Toward Refugees and Related Issues	36
A --- General Attitudes Toward Refugees and Other Immigrants Entering the Country	36
B --- Judgments About Who Should be Admitted to the U.S.	49
Part IV --- The Relation Between Attitudes Toward Immigration and Other Policy Issues	55
APPENDIX	
A --- Methodology	60
B --- Demographics of Samples	63
C --- Questionnaires	65

INDEX OF TABLES

Table		Page
1	Perceived Importance of Selected Problems Facing the Country	9
2	Importance Attached to "Refugees Coming Into the United States" by Sample Subgroups (Base Sample Only)	11
3	Perceptions of Differences Between Terms "Refugees" and "Immigrants"	14
4	Main Differences Between Refugees and Immigrants	15
5	Self-Judgments As to Knowledge and Opinions About Refugees	19
6	Attribution of Selected Characteristics to Refugees, Immigrants and Undocumented Aliens	23
7	Perceptions of Comparative Size of Groups Entering the U.S.	27
8	Countries From Which Refugees Are Seen as Coming to the United States	32
9	Distribution of Scores on Immigration Knowledge Index	34
10	Relation Between Immigration Knowledge Index and Other Variables (Base Sample Only)	35
11	Attitudes Toward Foreigners Entering the U.S.	41
12	Attitudes Toward Foreigners Entering the U.S. By Demographic Measures (Base Sample Only)	42
13	Attitudes Toward Admission of Refugees and Legal and Illegal Immigrants Into the United States	44
14	Attitudes Toward Admission of Refugees By Sample Subgroup (Base Sample Only)	45
15	Reactions to Arguments For and Against Admitting Refugees	47
16	Respondents' Judgments as to Who Should be Admitted to the United States	53
17	Attitudes Toward Selected Non-Immigration Issues	59

INTRODUCTION

The question of who should be admitted to the United States and by what criteria has been and continues to be a significant and important one. The heightened debate over this issue in recent years reflects changed circumstances surrounding immigration, such as a growing number of individuals petitioning for asylum in this country, the entry of several seemingly large refugee populations in the last decade (Cubans, Vietnamese, etc.) and increased concern about the allegedly large number of undocumented aliens now in the U.S. Underscoring the difficulty of formulating a national policy that accommodates the interests and preferences of all is the failure of immigration reform legislation in the 1983 Congress, with the result that further attention will be devoted to the issue this year.

Parallelling the debate over immigration policies and events of the last few decades have been numerous instances when public opinion polls have questioned American adults about their attitudes toward these issues. Most recent efforts have been directed at either newsworthy immigration issues (such as the admission of Vietnamese "boat people" or the 1980 Cuban influx) or the perceived problems associated with undocumented aliens. However, virtually all of the attention focused at public opinion on the subject has taken the form of at most three or four questions included in a longer interview exploring a variety of topics. These poll-

have typically documented the existence of persistently unfavorable attitudes toward all kinds of immigrants, but they have failed to explore in any depth the reasons behind such attitudes, public understanding of the issues, etc.

This survey was designed to fill the void left by earlier research. Since it was clear that any additional polling based on only a few questions would do little to explain further the public's perception of the issues, this research employed a twenty minute questionnaire (reproduced in the appendix) focused wholly on immigration. While this is considerably more time devoted to the topic than in most previous surveys, even twenty minutes is insufficient to explore all the ramifications, subtleties and implications of the issue, with the unfortunate result that interesting and possibly revealing questions went unasked. The main purpose in designing the survey was to explore attitudes toward refugees, though it was felt that this objective was best achieved by placing this topic within the broader one of immigration.

Details of the methodology of the study are contained in the appendix. In brief, this telephone survey used a base sample of 750 adults supplemented with enough blacks and Hispanics to bring the total number of completions among these two groups to one hundred each. Interviews were conducted during early February, 1984.

Submitted with this report is the complete set of computer-produced tabulations used in the analysis.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The principal findings of this survey can be readily summarized. First, refugee and immigration issues are not viewed as especially important problems facing the country when compared to other topics on the nation's agenda. There is also ample evidence that most American adults have a very incomplete understanding of the issues that have formed the core of this study. Thus fewer than half of those polled can correctly explain the difference between refugees and immigrants*, most are not aware of the relative magnitude of the numbers of refugees, legal immigrants and undocumented aliens entering the country, and there are widespread misperceptions as to the countries from which refugees come. Furthermore, members of the public readily acknowledge their lack of both information on these issues and firm opinions about how to deal with the problems; only one in eleven respondents is self-described as knowledgeable about the issues and having opinions about what should be done.

*Refugees, of course, are fleeing actual or likely persecution resulting from their race, religion, nationality or political beliefs or behavior. Immigrants enter the country for a variety of motives, most often family reunification or the desire for better economic opportunity; by definition, they enter the country legally. Undocumented aliens, usually referred to in the media as "illegal immigrants," do not have government permission to be in the United States; presumably their motives are mainly economic.

This survey corroborates the findings of previous efforts in that it documents an initial hostility towards refugees and, to a lesser extent, towards immigrants generally. Thus almost two-thirds of those questioned feel both that too many foreigners are now coming to the United States and that the number of refugees entering the country should be lowered. Consistent with these largely negative attitudes is the result that none of five arguments in favor of admitting refugees is endorsed by a majority of the public. The most oft-cited reason for opposing the admission of refugees is concern that they will take jobs away from Americans.

However, probing beyond this initial antagonism towards immigrants (an exercise largely lacking in earlier polls on the subject) uncovers attitudes that mitigate this portrait of an unsympathetic and uncaring public. Specifically, majorities of the public endorse admitting each of ten imaginary individuals whose profiles match those of typical entrants to this country, both refugees and other types of legal immigrants. While the available space in the questionnaire does not permit an explanation of these seemingly contradictory results of hostility and humanitarianism, the findings do suggest the necessity of a revision in our understanding of how the public views these issues. Perhaps these differences are rooted in the varying levels of abstraction of the questions. Thus one could hypothecate that, when faced with relatively abstract questions about groups or

classes of persons without specific individuality (such as refugees), most people react negatively and in keeping with what few unfavorable stereotypes and attitudes they have toward these types of people. On the other hand, this line of reasoning suggests that, in situations involving people more readily identifiable as individuals, Americans respond with that tradition of generosity and magnanimity that we like to think is part of our national character.

Regardless of whatever argument best explains these findings, the results do document that public opinion on these issues is not nearly so straightforward and simply characterized as depicted in most previous research. A corollary to this conclusion is the observation that one could easily construct a questionnaire to support either side of the debate over refugees. An instrument consisting solely of general questions about refugees would show majority opposition, while one focused on the problems of real-life case histories would lead to the opposite conclusions.

For the most part, the data show few differences between demographic groups. Blacks and Hispanics, which were explicitly oversampled in the project, show no consistent differences with regard to either their understanding of or attitudes toward these issues. Much the same comments can be made for other demographic categories such as sex, region of residence, age, when the respondent's ancestors came to this country, religion, political ideology or party identifica-

tion. A notable, though not unexpected, exception is education. Well-educated respondents are not only more knowledgeable about the issues, they also show consistently more tolerant and open attitudes toward refugees and immigrants. Paralleling this finding is that persons who are more knowledgeable about these issues are decidedly less hostile towards refugees and immigrants. The latter result suggests that, to the extent it would increase general understanding of refugees and immigrants, a public information campaign would lead to greater receptivity and tolerance of them in our society.

The results of this survey show that considerable revisions are necessary in our ideas about how the public views and understands refugee and immigration issues. To that extent they should be taken into account by those persons directly involved in immigration reform.

I. IMPORTANCE OF REFUGEES AND OTHER PROBLEMS

FINDING: Compared to other public policy issues, the American public sees the entry of refugees into the United States as one of moderate to low importance.

DISCUSSION

Questions asking members of the general public about the salience of various national problems typically find that large proportions of respondents see these issues as important (if they were not, why would anyone bother to ask?). For this reason, a question eliciting the perceived significance of only a single issue is of limited usefulness, as it is only by comparison with other problems that survey data can be interpreted to provide any meaningful judgments about the importance of public policy issues.*

Responses to Question 1 follow the predicted pattern in that majorities or near majorities of each sample fall into the "very important" category on each of six public policy issues (see Table 1; tables always occur at the end of the section where first referenced). What is more meaningful, however, is the ranking of the six issues. "Refugees coming

*A 1983 survey of blacks and Hispanics commissioned by the Federation for American Immigration Reform suffers from this deficiency. Among the findings is that majorities of both samples rated immigration as of above average importance, though the questionnaire did not include any other issues against which these results could be judged. This poll was conducted by V. Lance Tarrance & Associates and Peter D. Hart Research Associates.

into the United States" is ranked fifth of the six problems, ahead only of "population growth." At the top of the list are "poor people not getting enough to eat" and "unemployment." In sum, it appears that compared to other public policy issues, refugees are seen as of only moderate to low importance.

All three samples (i.e., the base sample, blacks and Hispanics) give essentially the same results. While the percentages do vary in some cases from sample to sample, the rankings of the six issues are essentially the same among all three groups.

As shown in Table 2, there are some interesting variations in the importance attached to refugees by sample subgroups. Less well-educated respondents see the entry of refugees as more important than do those with more education, as do Southerners, older respondents, those whose ancestors came to this country before the Civil War, and conservatives.

Q. 1

Table 1

Perceived Importance of Selected Problems Facing the Country

	Base Sample %	Blacks %	Hispanics %
Poor people not getting enough to eat			
Very important	81	89	89
Somewhat important	11	5	8
Not very important	4	2	1
Not at all important	2	3	1
Not sure	2	1	1
Unemployment			
Very important	80	86	90
Somewhat important	18	11	10
Not very important	1	1	0
Not at all important	*	1	1
Not sure	1	2	0
The threat to our society from communism			
Very important	70	66	66
Somewhat important	18	13	15
Not very important	6	4	8
Not at all important	4	7	3
Not sure	3	9	8
Protecting the environment			
Very important	67	79	71
Somewhat important	26	14	17
Not very important	3	2	5
Not at all important	1	1	1
Not sure	3	4	6
Refugees coming into the United States			
Very important	52	49	54
Somewhat important	26	23	25
Not very important	11	11	10
Not at all important	7	12	8
Not sure	5	6	3

- continued -

Q. 1

Table 1

Perceived Importance of Selected Problems Facing the Country
(continued)

	Base Sample %	Blacks %	Hispanics %
Population growth			
Very important	37	48	43
Somewhat important	36	29	27
Not very important	12	7	14
Not at all important	6	8	10
Not sure	9	8	6
(BASE)	(750)	(100)	(103)

Notes

In this and all tables in this report, figures are based on weighted results as explained in the appendix. "Base sample" designates the random sample of 750 respondents selected nationwide. The column labelled "Blacks" consists of both those individuals from the base sample who are black as well as those from the black oversample. Similar comments pertain to the "Hispanic" column.

Issues are listed according to degree of importance.

*Indicates greater than 0 but less than 1/2 of 1%.

Table 2

Importance Attached to "Refugees Coming Into The United States" by Sample Subgroups
(Base Sample Only)

	Percent Rating Refugees as "Very Important" %
Sex	
Male	53
Female	51
Education	
High School or less	56
Some college	47
College graduate	39
Region	
Northeast	51
North Central	48
South	58
West	46
Age	
18 to 34	41
35 to 54	55
55 and over	62
When Ancestors Arrived in U.S.	
Before the Civil War	55
After Civil War but before World War I	45
After World War I	47
Religion	
Protestant	55
Catholic	51
Political Ideology	
Conservative	56
Moderate	50
Liberal	48
Party Preference	
Republican	54
Independent	47
Democrat	56

II. PUBLIC UNDERSTANDING OF IMMIGRATION ISSUES

A. Awareness of Differences Between Refugees and Immigrants

FINDINGS: Most Americans do not understand the technical difference between refugees and immigrants.

DISCUSSION

As documented in Table 3, 50% of the base sample say that refugees and immigrants are "people coming into the United States for different purposes and by different means," while the remainder are almost equally distributed between respondents who erroneously describe these words as "just different terms for the same kind of people" and those who admit to not knowing the answer to the question. Not surprising is that educated respondents are more likely to give the correct answer.

Respondents who correctly answered that refugees and immigrants are not the same were asked to elaborate on these differences. By far the dominant response (volunteered by 56% of those in the base sample who were asked the question; see Table 4) refers to the volition of leaving one's homeland; immigrants are seen as having made this choice voluntarily, while refugees are correctly described as having been forced to leave. Other responses, which include a diversity of ideas, both valid and inaccurate, are listed in the table. It is surprising that few respondents explicitly mention persecution and oppression of refugees.

The results of Tables 3 and 4 lead to the conclusion that a majority of the American public is either unaware of the distinction between refugees and immigrants or cannot articulate what these differences are (note especially the "not sures," etc. in Table 4).

Q. 3

Table 3

Perceptions of Differences Between Terms "Refugees" and "Immigrants"

	Base Sample %	Blacks %	Hispanics %
"Refugees" and "Immigrants" are:			
Just different terms for the same kind of people	28	39	25
People coming into the U.S. for different purposes and by different means	50	41	57
Not sure	23	21	19
(BASE)	(748)	(99)	(103)

Q. 4

Table 4

Main Difference Between Refugees and Immigrants

	Base Sample %	Blacks %	Hispanics %
Answers about volition of leaving country of origin (e.g, refugees had to come, were ousted; immigrants wanted to come, are looking for a better life)	56	32	62
Answers stressing deprivation (Net)	19	5	22
Refugees have no home, nowhere to go	8	4	15
Immigrants have no home, nowhere to go	*	0	0
Refugees have no money, need assistance	7	0	6
Immigrants have no money, need assistance	*	0	0
Other answers about refugees' deprivation	3	0	1
Other answers about immigrants' deprivation	2	1	1
Answers stressing legal distinction upon entry (Net)	12	1	10
Immigrants are legal, come with our permission; refugees are not legal, they just come without applying	12	1	8
Refugees are legal; come with our permission; immigrants are not legal, they just come without applying	1	0	2
Answers referring to motives for coming to the U.S. (Net)	10	4	14
Immigrants want to work, want jobs, refugees do not	6	4	4
Refugees want to work, want jobs, immigrants do not	*	0	1
Immigrants want welfare, other benefits	*	0	1
Refugees want welfare, other benefits	3	0	5
Immigrants come for democracy, citizenship, etc.	3	0	4
Refugees come for democracy, citizenship, etc.	1	0	0

- continued -

Q. 4

Table 4

Main Difference Between Refugees and Immigrants
(continued)

	Base Sample %	Blacks %	Hispanics %
Answers stressing abilities, class distinctions, etc. (Net)	8	0	9
Immigrants have skills, can make money	4	0	5
Refugees are lower class, immigrants are higher class	1	0	0
Immigrants are more intelligent	1	0	0
Other answers stressing abilities, etc.	3	0	4
Answers referring to the places from which they come (Net)	7	4	12
Refugees are from countries or areas at war	4	0	3
Refugees are from communist countries	1	1	1
They are from different countries (non-specific comments)	2	3	8
Refugees are fleeing oppression	7	0	2
Immigrants are fleeing oppression	1	3	0
Refugees have political backgrounds	3	2	2
Immigrants are temporary, want to go back	1	0	1
Refugees are temporary, want to go back	*	0	0
There are too many refugees coming to the U.S.	*	0	0
There are too many immigrants coming to the U.S.	1	0	0
Refugees are criminals	0	3	1
There are too many (non-specific comment)	1	0	0
Miscellaneous other responses	8	26	7
There is no difference between the two	4	8	4
Not sure what the difference is	11	30	9
(BASE)	(371)	(39)	(59)

B. Self-Judgments As To Knowledge and Opinions About Refugees

FINDINGS: Only one in eleven members of the adult public is self-described as knowledgeable about refugee issues and having opinions as to how our society should resolve these problems. Two thirds of those interviewed in effect characterize themselves as without opinion as to what policies our country should adopt with respect to refugees.

DISCUSSION

A question posed to survey participants toward the end of the interview asked them to judge themselves in terms of their knowledge about refugee issues and the extent to which they have opinions about how the problems should be resolved. The most pointed conclusion about the results is the small number (only 9% of the base sample) of respondents who describe themselves as both well informed about refugees and having opinions as to what should be done about the issue (Table 5). Remaining members of the sample are distributed almost equally among the three other responses offered as part of the question: uninformed and without opinions (25%), uninformed but nevertheless with opinions (26%), and informed but uncertain as to what should be done (36%). In short, two thirds of the public in effect characterize themselves as not having opinions on the issue of refugees*, and an additional

*Including those answering they do not know enough to have opinions, those saying they know something but are unsure as to what policies we should adopt, and respondents who are not sure.

26% admit that they do not know much about the subject. The two minority oversamples do not differ from the public as a whole on this measure.

One implication of these results is to call into question the accuracy of the model of an informed, carefully deliberative citizenry traditionally portrayed in high school civics texts, though the discrepancy between the ideal and the real in this context is hardly novel to observers with even a passing acquaintance with American political life.

The more serious problem posed by these results is the extent to and manner in which public opinion should be and is useful in formulating policy with respect to refugee and immigration issues. While it could reasonably be argued that, even in spite of this finding, the public's broad preferences are of use to policy makers in a democratic society, that over 90% of the adult population in effect disqualifies itself as a source of informed opinion on the issue effectively circumscribes its role in and relevance to the policy formation process.

Q. 12

Table 5

Self-Judgments As to Knowledge and Opinions About Refugees

	Base Sample %	Blacks %	Hispanics %
Respondent			
Does not know enough to really have meaningful opinions on the issue of refugees	25	24	22
Does not know very much about refugees but does have opinions on these matters	26	31	28
Does know something about refugees but is not sure about what policies our country should adopt	36	33	35
Is well informed about the issue and has opinions about what should be done	9	4	12
Not sure	4	6	3
(BASE)	(750)	(100)	(103)

C. Perceptions of Characteristics of Refugees, Legal Immigants and Undocumented Aliens

FINDINGS: Less than half of the public correctly associates political persecution with refugee status or family reunification with legal immigrants. While failure to fit in American society is most often ascribed to illegal immigrants, it is striking to note that by more than a five to one margin refugees are seen as more likely being misfits than legal immigrants.

DISCUSSION

The public's views as to the differences between refugees, legal immigrants and undocumented aliens was explored by asking respondents to indicate to which group each of four descriptions best applies.* The results (Table 6) indicate that it is not as obvious as one might presuppose that refugees are fleeing political oppression: just under half of the base sample correctly associate the two.

The presence of better economic opportunities in the U.S. is seer as motivating legal entrants more so than undocumented aliens, a perception that may seem slightly off the mark but one that would be difficult to document. In any case, comparativley few persons interviewed attribute this motive mainly to refugees.

*Since "undocumented aliens" is a technical term usually eschewed by the press in favor of "illegal immigrants," the latter was used throughout the questionnaire.

Not quite half of each sample correctly attributes family reunification as a motive of legal immigrants more so than other entrants. Consistently observed in this and other items in Table 6 is that blacks and Hispanics are of basically the same views as the public generally.

The last item in Table 6 ("don't tend to fit into American society very well") differs from the other three in that it provides the greatest opportunity for respondents to project their own values and biases into their answers; even an expert would be hard pressed to give an objective answer. For this reason, the results it elicits are especially interesting. The condition is most often attributed to illegal immigrants (though Hispanics apply it to refugees slightly more frequently), a finding possibly explained by the association of the two clearly undesirable qualities of not fitting in and illegality. The most informative finding in view of the emphasis of this research on refugees, though, is the much greater extent to which refugees are seen as misfits than are legal immigrants.

The detailed tables show that better educated and younger respondents are more likely to associate political persecution with refugee status. The tendency to see legal immigrants as motivated by economic considerations is disproportionately concentrated among the better educated, younger members of the public, and those whose ancestors arrived in this country after World War I. Correctly associating family

reunification with legal immigrants is correlated with higher education, living in the Northeast, having ancestors who immigrated after World War I, professing the Catholic faith, and being "non-Democrat." It is also surprising that there are few differences in how respondents with varying demographic characteristics answer the question about fitting in American society. Younger respondents are more likely to view refugees as misfits, though there are no differences on other background measures, including education.

Q. 5

Table 6

Attribution of Selected Characterisitcs to Refugees, Immigrants and Undocumented Aliens

	Base Sample %	Blacks %	Hispanics %
Are fleeing persecution for their political beliefs			
Best describes refugees	43	29	47
Best describes legal immigrants	14	18	10
Best describes illegal immigrants	25	32	25
Describes all three (volunteered response)	8	9	2
Describes none (volunteered response)	1	3	1
Not sure	11	12	14
Want to come to the U.S. because of better economic opportunities here			
Best describes refugees	14	12	12
Best describes legal immigrants	38	40	35
Best describes illegal immigrants	27	22	48
Describes all three (volunteered response)	21	16	11
Describes none (volunteered response)	1	4	*
Not sure	7	10	3
Are frequently coming to the U.S. to be with family members and close relatives already in this country			
Best describes refugees	15	21	12
Best describes legal immigrants	45	44	47
Best describes illegal immigrants	22	19	31
Describes all three (volunteered response)	11	10	12
Describes none (volunteered response)	2	2	*
Not sure	9	9	3

- continued -

Q. 5

Table 6

Attribution of Selected Characterisitcs to Refugees, Immigrants and Undocumented Aliens (continued)

	Base Sample %	Blacks %	Hispanics %
Don't tend to fit into American society very well			
Best describes refugees	28	25	36
Best describes legal immigrants	5	10	8
Best describes illegal immigrants	40	40	33
Describes all three (volunteered response)	13	8	8
Describes none (volunteered response)	6	5	8
Not sure	15	13	12
(BASE)	(750)	(100)	(103)

*Indicates greater than 0 but less than 1/2 of 1%.

As a result of multiple answers, figures may total to more than 100%.

D. Perceptions of the Numbers of Types of Persons Entering the United States

FINDING: Fewer than one in five respondents is correct in thinking that the number of refugees entering the country over the last ten years is smaller than either illegal immigrants or persons entering the country by other legal means.

DISCUSSION

Given the controversy and uncertainties surrounding undocumented aliens, there is perhaps little point in trying to make definitive statements in this document as to whether there are more legal or illegal immigrants entering the country each year. The public's perception, though, is that by a four to one margin illegal immigrants are more frequent than those with papers (Table 7).

One conclusion that can be reached with reasonable certainty, however, is that the number of refugees entering the country over the last ten years has averaged less than either the number of illegal entrants or other immigrants entering legally. Public opinion is at variance with these facts, as only 18% of the base sample correctly identified refugees as the third largest of these three types of entrants. A slight majority (62%) thinks that legal immigrants are fewest in number. The views of the two minority oversamples reflect those of the public at large. As would be expected, the probability of a correct answer to this series

of questions increases as does the educational level of the respondent, though a majority of even college graduates continue to give wrong answers --- only 30% correctly put refugees in third place, as compared to 14% of those with no more than a high school diploma.

Q. 6, 7

Table 7

Perceptions of Comparative Size of Groups Entering the U.S.

	Base Sample %	Blacks %	Hispanics %
Largest Group			
Refugees	34	41	28
Legal immigrants	11	14	11
Illegal immigrants	42	37	55
Not sure	12	8	6
(BASE)	(749)	(100)	(103)
Second Largest Group			
Refugees	39	44	55
Legal immigrants	20	22	20
Illegal immigrants	35	30	22
Not sure	6	5	3
(BASE*)	(657)	(92)	(97)
Third Largest Group			
Refugees	18	12	12
Legal immigrants	62	59	68
Illegal immigrants	14	25	15
Not sure	6	4	4
(BASE*)	(657)	(92)	(97)

*Based on respondents not giving "not sure" responses with respect to the largest group.

E. Perceptions of Countries From Which Refugees Come to the United States

FINDING: Substantial misperceptions exist with respect to where refugees come from, as evidenced by the findings that more are seen as coming from Mexico than each of eight other countries and that few refugees are thought to have come from the Soviet Union.

DISCUSSION

Continuing our exploration of public understanding of refugee and related issues is a series of items asking survey participants to indicate from which countries refugees entering the United States come. Given the confusion in the minds of many persons over the distinctions between different types of persons entering this country documented thus far in this report, it is at this point not surprising that the question uncovered further misperceptions. Thus Mexico, perhaps the leading source of undocumented aliens in this country but not a source of refugees, is most often cited as one of the countries from which the largest number of refugees come (50% of the base sample; see Table 8). Only two other countries, Cuba and Vietnam, are seen by substantial numbers of respondents as major sources of refugees. Since over 400,000 Vietnamese have been admitted since 1975*, the latter judgment is an accurate one, while the indeterminate status of the 1980 Mariel Cubans by even

*In addition, 250,000 Cambodians and Lao, who may well have been confused with Vietnamese, have also entered the country in the same time period.

the federal government's standards could be seen as a justification for placing Cuba near the top on this measure.

Perhaps the other notable example of an inaccurate perception in the question is that so few persons see the Soviet Union as sending a sizeable number of refugees to the United States (70% say it has sent few or none) --- a surprising finding in view of the considerable debate and publicity surrounding policy with respect to Soviet Jews in the 1970's and 1980's.

If one accepts the conclusion that most members of the public do not properly differentiate between various types of persons entering the United States, then a plausible interpretation of the data in Table 8 is that what the question is actually measuring is the perception of the number of entrants of all types coming from these countries. From this perspective, the ordering of the countries in the table is more accurate.

An Index of Knowledge About Refugees and Immigration

For analytical purposes each respondent was scored according to the number of correct answers he or she gave on eight factual items from different points in the questionnaire. Items used in constructing this index are as follows:

Q. 5, fleeing persecution --- respondents who said refugees are fleeing persecution for their political beliefs are considered correct; all other responses are incorrect

Q. 5, family reunification --- respondents identifying legal immigrants as frequently coming to the United States to be with family members and close relatives already in this country are considered correct; all others are incorrect

Q. 6 & 7, size of group --- respondents implying that refugees are the third largest group of entrants are given a "correct" score; others are considered incorrect

Q. 8, Vietnam --- those who identified Vietnam as one of the countries from which the largest number of refugees have come to the United States are considered correct; others are incorrect

Q. 8, Soviet Union --- saying the Soviet Union is one of the countries sending the largest number of refugees to the United States is a correct answer; others are incorrect

Q. 8, Italy --- identifying Italy as a country from which few or no refugees come is a correct response; others are incorrect

Q. 8, Mexico --- identifying Mexico as a country from which few or no refugees come is a correct response; others are incorrect

Q. 8, Korea --- identifying Korea as a country from which few or no refugees come is a correct response; others are incorrect

Each survey participant was given a score corresponding to the number of items answered correctly, and the resulting distribution is shown in Table 9. Scores are low, as the average respondent answers fewer than three of the eight items correctly.

More interesting are the data in Table 10. As expected, better educated respondents have higher scores on the knowledge index, and younger ones also show better results. There is a tendency for respondents whose ancestors arrived more recently to be more knowledgeable, though the difference is slight. Perhaps equally as interesting as these results

are the null findings of no relation between knowledge and religious background, political ideology, and party identification. Finally, we observe that there is a positive relation between actual score on the knowledge index and how respondents rate themselves on the knowledge - opinions typology (first discussed on page 17), though the strength of the association is only moderate.

Q. 8

Table 8

Countries From Which Refugees Are Seen as Coming to the United States

	Base Sample	Blacks	His-panics
	%	%	%
Mexico			
One of largest*	50	37	50
Substantial number	28	31	23
Few or no refugees	16	21	25
Not sure	6	11	3
Cuba			
One of largest	44	40	39
Substantial number	33	29	26
Few or no refugees	16	22	23
Not sure	7	8	13
Vietnam			
One of largest	32	31	43
Substantial number	39	35	34
Few or no refugees	19	18	16
Not sure	10	16	8
Haiti			
One of largest	14	33	10
Substantial numbers	25	18	20
Few or no refugees	45	38	54
Not sure	17	10	16
Iran			
One of largest	12	20	28
Substantial number	32	34	21
Few or no refugees	56	59	52
Not sure	15	10	22
El Salvador			
One of largest	7	12	17
Substantial number	23	18	30
Few or no refugees	35	51	40
Not sure	18	19	13

- continued -

Q. 8

Table 8

Countries From Which Refugees Are Seen as Coming to the United States
(continued)

	Base Sample	Blacks	His-panics
	%	%	%
The Soviet Union			
One of largest	5	8	9
Substantial number	12	15	14
Few or no refugees	70	66	58
Not sure	12	11	19
Italy			
One of largest	4	7	7
Substantial number	10	21	8
Few or no refugees	72	57	72
Not sure	14	15	13
(Base)	(750)	(100)	(103)

*Response categories are as follows:

Is one of the countries from which the largest number of refugees come to the United States

A substantial number of refugees come here from that country but not enough to be one of the largest sources

Few or no refugees come to the United States from that country

Table 9

Distribution of Scores on Immigration Knowledge Index

Score (number of correct answers)	Base Sample %	Blacks %	His-panics %
Zero	5	11	*
One	15	14	22
Two	22	28	14
Three	29	26	29
Four	17	16	21
Five	9	5	10
Six	2	0	3
Seven	1	0	0
Eight	0	0	0
Average	2.75	2.39	2.8

*Indicates greater than 0 but less than 1/2 of 1%.

Table 10

Relation Between Immigration Knowledge Index and Other Variables
(Base Sample Only)

	Score on Index* Low	Medium	High
	%	%	%
Total Sample	42	46	11
Education			
High school or less	49	44	7
Some college	36	48	16
College graduate	25	51	23
Age			
18 to 34	34	53	13
35 to 54	40	45	14
55 and over	54	38	7
When ancestors arrived in the United States			
Before the Civil War	43	46	11
After the Civil War but before World War I	37	52	11
After World War I	32	50	18
Religion			
Protestant	45	45	9
Catholic	38	50	12
Political Ideology			
Conservative	42	45	13
Moderate	37	52	10
Liberal	41	44	15
Party identification			
Republican	42	46	12
Independent	39	44	16
Democrat	44	48	8
Self-rating as to knowledge and opinions about refugees			
Does not know enough to really have meaningful opinions on the issue of refugees	48	43	9
Does not know very much about refugees but does have opinions on these matters	44	46	11
Does know something about refugees but is not sure about what policies our country should adopt	39	49	12
Is well informed about the issue and has opinions about what should be done	28	53	20

*Scores are as follows:
Low = scores of 0, 1 or 2 Medium = scores of 3 or 4
High = scores of 5, 6 or 7

III. ATTITUDES TOWARD REFUGEES AND RELATED ISSUES

A. General Attitudes Toward Refugees and Other Immigrants Entering the Country

FINDINGS: Two thirds of the public agrees that too many foreigners are coming into the U.S. to stay these days. Consistent with these sentiments is the majority judgment that the numbers of admitted refugees and illegal immigrants should be reduced. A plurality endorses maintaining the quota of other legal immigrants at current levels, though on balance opinion tends more toward reducing rather than increasing numbers of entrants.

Educated members of the public show consistently more tolerant attitudes on these issues than their less-well-educated peers. Similarly, more pro-immigrant attitudes are found among persons more knowledgeable about the issues.

Of five possible arguments for admitting refugees, appeal to our history as a nation of immigrants wins the most support among the public. On the other hand, the fear that refugees take jobs away from Americans elicits the most exclusionary reaction.

DISCUSSION

We turn in this section away from factual issues toward the normative and attitudinal substance that accounts for a good proportion of the questionnaire. An early question asked before, no doubt, it was apparent to participants that the survey was focused almost exclusively on immigration issues shows that about two thirds of each sample agrees that there are too many foreigners coming to the United States these days (Table 11). Noteworthy about these answers is the skewed nature of the results, with about half the samples falling in the agree strongly category.

There are interesting and appreciable differences in how various subgroups of the sample responded to this question (see Table 12). While there are no differences according to sex, less educated respondents are much more likely to agree strongly with the proposition. Anti-foreign sentiment is also disproportionately found in the South, among older respondents, among those with roots in this country going back further in time, among Protestants and among self-described political conservatives, though there is no association between political party identification and attitudes on the issue.

Especially interesting is the contrast in the answers of those who are more and less knowledgeable about immigration issues: 59% of the respondents with low scores on the knowledge index agree strongly that there are too many refugees, as compared to only 24% of those in the high score category. On the other hand, respondent self-ratings as to knowledge and opinions on the issues show no correlation with attitudes toward immigrants.

Finally, we note the large differences on this attitudinal measure --- almost 40 percentage points --- between those who think that the influx of refugees into the U.S. is a very important problem and those rating it as less important.

The data in Table 13 further illustrates the public's attitudes toward classes of persons entering the United States. As would be expected, there are more favorable attitudes toward legal than illegal immigrants. Fully 78% of the base sample

prefers that the number of persons entering the country illegally be lowered "a lot," compared to a much smaller 18% rendering a similar judgment with respect to those coming legally. While the modal position with respect to legal entrants is maintenance of the status quo (44% of the base sample), opinion toward even this group is on balance more negative than positive as evidenced by the much larger number supporting reducing the number of immigrants than increasing them (40% say lowered, as compared to only 9% in favor of increases). The data also show a greater tendency to exclude people thought of as "refugees" than those labelled "legal immigrants:" whereas 40% of the public wants to decrease the number of legal immigrants, 62% voices a similar judgment with respect to refugees.

How respondents in selected subsamples feel about the number of refugees to be admitted to the country is shown in Table 14. Results differ from those of Table 12 in that there are fewer differences between various types of survey participants than found earlier; the only differences observed consistently in both tables are on education (educated citizens show more tolerance for refugees), actual knowledge about immigration (the better informed one is, the more likely he or she is to favor admitting refugees), and perceptions as to the importance of refugees entering the country (members of the public who regard the issue as most important give anti-refugee responses).

Reactions to various reasons for and against admitting refugees are documented in Table 15, where the eight arguments included in the question have been listed in order of decreasing persuasiveness with respect to allowing in this type of entrant. None of the five statements supporting refugee admissions is endorsed by a majority of the public. The first item in the table ("since the U.S. is a nation built by immigrants, we should not close our doors now to people fleeing persecution in other countries") is the only one with a plurality (42%) endorsing it as a justification for letting in refugees. On the other hand, only one of the five arguments on behalf of refugee admissions is judged not true by a substantial minority --- 36% --- of the population ("since the number of refugees coming into the U.S. is small compared to the total size of our country, they don't place a substantial burden on our society").

Of the three arguments opposing the entry of refugees, only one is endorsed by a slight majority of survey participants (52% agree that "refugees take jobs away from American workers" is a valid reason to oppose their admission)*. Almost as many (45%) feel that refugees should not be allowed in because most "wind up on welfare," although poor assimilation

*An open-ended question on the pretest questionnaire but deleted from the final version due to time constraints asked respondents favoring a reduction in the number of refugees to explain their answers. That taking jobs away from Americans was mentioned far more frequently than any other reason supports the implication in Table 15 that this is one of the main reasons the public is opposed to immigrants generally and refugees in particular.

is not seen by many as a reason for refusing to let refugees enter the country. The public's feelings toward refugees are also revealed by the finding that each of these three anti-refugee arguments is implicitly endorsed as true by a majority of the sample.*

The complete computer tabulations show that subsample differences on these items are similar to those previously reported. That is, more educated respondents are more likely to endorse the five pro-refugee arguments as reasons for admitting refugees and less likely to agree with the logic behind the statements opposing admission of refugees. Similar findings are observed for persons most knowledgeable about refugee issues and for respondents who do not think refugees coming into the U.S. is a very important problem. Other subsamples show smaller and/or less consistent differences.

*In Table 15, for example, 34% judge "refugees don't assimilate into American society well" as true but of no relevance as to whether they should be admitted, and 26% say this is a good reason not to let in refugees --- a total of 60% acknowledging the argument as true. Similar calculations show majorities endorsing the other two statements as true.

Q. 2

Table 11

Attitudes Toward Foreigners Entering the U.S.

	Base Sample %	Blacks %	Hispanics %
There are too many foreigners coming to live in the United States these days			
Agree strongly	48	52	48
Agree somewhat	16	15	16
Disagree somewhat	16	9	13
Disagree strongly	13	12	18
Not sure (volunteered response)	6	12	5
(BASE)	(750)	(100)	(103)

Q. 2

Table 12

Attitudes Toward Foreigners Entering the U.S.
By Demographic Measures
(Base Sample Only)

	There are too many foreigners coming to live in the U.S. these days			
	Agree Strongly	Agree Somewhat	Disagree Somewhat	Disagree Strongly
	%	%	%	%
Sex				
Male	47	16	17	17
Female	49	17	16	10
Education				
High school or less	57	12	12	13
Some college	43	25	19	11
College graduate	20	24	33	16
Region				
Northeast	45	15	17	16
North Central	45	20	17	12
South	55	15	12	12
West	45	16	23	12
Age				
18 to 34	39	20	22	14
35 to 54	52	17	16	10
55 and over	56	12	10	14
When ancestors arrived in in U.S.				
Before Civil War	49	16	16	13
After Civil War but before World War I	48	19	18	12
After World War I	36	16	26	17
Religion				
Protestant	53	17	13	10
Catholic	43	16	20	15
Political Ideology				
Conservative	52	17	15	10
Moderate	48	18	19	12
Liberal	42	14	18	20

- continued -

Q. 2

Table 12

Attitudes Toward Foreigners Entering the U.S.
By Demographic Measures
(Base Sample Only)
(continued)

	There are too many foreigners coming to live in the U.S. these days			
	Agree Strongly	Agree Somewhat	Disagree Somewhat	Disagree Strongly
	%	%	%	%
Party identification				
Republican	46	16	23	12
Independent	46	20	14	11
Democrat	51	15	14	15
Self-rating as to knowledge and opinions about refugees				
Does not know enough to really have meaningful opinions on the issue of refugees	49	13	9	17
Does not know very much about refugees but does have opinions on these matters	47	20	20	12
Does know something about refugees but is not sure about what policies our country should adopt	48	18	20	10
Is well informed about the issue and has opinions about what should be done	45	17	18	17
Score on knowledge index				
Low	59	13	10	10
Medium	44	18	20	14
High	24	22	28	22
Importance attached to refugees coming into the United States (Q. 1)				
Very important	67	13	7	9
Somewhat important or less	28	21	28	17

Q. 10

Table 13

Attitudes Toward Admission of Refugees and Legal and Illegal Immigrants Into the United States

	Base Sample	Blacks	His-panics
	%	%	%
Legal immigrants			
Raised a lot*	3	5	3
Raised a little	6	5	6
Kept the same as now	44	32	36
Lowered a little	22	31	24
Lowered a lot	18	18	20
Not sure	7	8	9
Refugees			
Raised a lot	2	1	1
Raised a little	5	10	7
Kept the same as now	22	24	20
Lowered a little	26	22	27
Lowered a lot	36	36	33
Not sure	8	8	11
Illegal immigrants			
Raised a lot	1	3	4
Raised a little	1	2	2
Kept the same as now	7	6	6
Lowered a little	8	11	18
Lowered a lot	78	72	64
Not sure	6	6	6
(Base)	(750)	(100)	(103)

*Respondent's judgment as to what should be done to the number of each type entrant coming into the United States each year.

Q. 10

Table 14

Attitudes Toward Admission of Refugees By Sample Subgroup
(Base Sample Only)

	The number of refugees coming into the U.S. each year should be				
	Raised A Lot	Raised A Little	Kept the Same As Now	Lowered A Little	Lowered A Lot
	%	%	%	%	%
Sex					
Male	3	6	21	27	36
Female	1	4	23	26	37
Education					
High school or less	1	4	18	28	42
Some college	4	3	25	28	30
College graduate	1	11	33	20	23
Region					
Northeast	2	11	22	24	32
North Central	1	4	22	26	35
South	1	3	23	26	41
West	5	4	20	29	35
Age					
18 to 34	4	5	23	29	32
35 to 54	1	7	26	20	42
55 and over	1	4	18	29	36
When ancestors arrived in the United States					
Before the Civil War	3	4	22	25	38
After the Civil War but before World War I	1	6	25	30	34
After World War I	0	6	25	24	37
Religion					
Protestant	2	5	23	24	39
Catholic	2	6	20	29	34
Political ideology					
Conservative	1	5	20	28	37
Moderate	1	5	25	27	35
Liberal	4	8	24	22	36

- continued -

Table 14

Attitudes Toward Admission of Refugees By Sample Subgroup
(Base Sample Only)
(continued)

	The number of refugees coming into the U.S. each year should be				
	Raised A Lot	Raised A Little	Kept the Same As Now	Lowered A Little	Lowered A Lot
	%	%	%	%	%
Party identification					
Republican	*	5	24	24	38
Independent	2	3	21	28	36
Democrat	2	8	23	27	35
Self-rating as to knowledge and opinions about refugees					
Does not know enough to really have meaningful opinions on the issue of refugees	2	7	21	26	31
Does not know very much about refugees but does have opinions on these matters	2	2	20	29	40
Does know something about refugees but is not sure about what policies our country should adopt	1	5	27	28	35
Is well-informed about the issue and has opinions about what should be done	8	10	14	9	48
Score on knowledge index					
Low	1	3	16	27	41
Medium	2	6	23	28	36
High	5	11	40	20	18
Importance attached to refugees coming into the United States (Q. 1)					
Very important	1	3	14	26	49
Somewhat important or less	3	8	30	28	22

Q. 9

Table 15

Reactions to Arguments For and Against Admitting Refugees

	Base Sample	Blacks	His-panics
	%	%	%
Since the United States is a nation built by immigrants, we should not close our doors now to people fleeing persecution in other countries			
Is a good reason not to let in refugees	13	14	20
Is a good reason for admitting refugees	42	41	42
Is true, but has no relevance	27	29	17
Is not true	8	14	8
Not sure	10	2	14
By taking in refugees, the United States demonstrates its moral leadership of the free world			
Is a good reason not to let in refugees	7	11	5
Is a good reason for admitting refugees	37	32	40
Is true, but has no relevance	37	36	34
Is not true	11	13	9
Not sure	8	8	12
Willingness to admit refugees is strong proof of our humanitarian values			
Is a good reason not to let in refugees	10	22	17
Is a good reason for admitting refugees	33	23	28
Is true, but has no relevance	36	25	25
Is not true	10	19	14
Not sure	10	10	16
Many refugees admitted to the United States in recent decades have made significant contributions to America's economic and cultural life			
Is a good reason not to let in refugees	8	8	11
Is a good reason for admitting refugees	33	30	19
Is true, but has no relevance	29	30	28
Is not true	18	18	22
Not sure	12	14	20

- continued -

Table 15

Reactions to Arguments For and Against Admitting Refugees
(continued)

	Base Sample	Blacks	His-panics
	%	%	%
Since the number of refugees coming into the United States is small compared to the total size of our country, they don't place a substantial burden on our society			
Is a good reason not to let in refugees	15	17	13
Is a good reason for admitting refugees	13	12	26
Is true, but has no relevance	24	20	21
Is not true	36	35	26
Not sure	13	16	13
Refugees don't assimilate into American society well			
Is a good reason not to let in refugees	26	21	24
Is a good reason for admitting refugees	4	6	2
Is true, but has no relevance	34	25	27
Is not true	25	37	38
Not sure	12	11	9
Most refugees admitted to the United States wind up on welfare			
Is a good reason not to let in refugees	45	44	38
Is a good reason for admitting refugees	2	3	4
Is true, but has no relevance	19	20	23
Is not true	23	20	25
Not sure	10	13	9
Refugees take jobs away from American workers			
Is a good reason not to let in refugees	52	50	42
Is a good reason for admitting refugees	3	5	4
Is true, but has no relevance	28	25	28
Is not true	12	15	23
Not sure	5	5	2

B. Judgments About Who Should Be Admitted to the U.S.

FINDING: Majorities of the public felt that each of ten hypothetical applicants should be allowed to enter the United States.

DISCUSSION

The preceding section of this report discussed attitudes toward refugees and other immigrants measured as general social categories. The line of questioning reported in this section, while again examining attitudes towards persons entering the country, is considerably less abstract in that the question focuses on specific types of persons with recognizable human characteristics and problems --- with surprisingly different results.

The respondent was asked to imagine that he or she was a U.S. government official with the job of deciding who should and should not be admitted into this country. Ten hypothetical cases were presented to each respondent using the descriptions contained in Table 16. The first and most remarkable conclusion is that majorities of the public think that each of the ten applicants should be allowed to enter the country, a finding notably at variance with the appreciably much more hostile attitudes documented previously. Respondents with college degrees and those who are more knowledgeable about immigration again show the more tolerant attitudes shown throughout this report.

While each of the ten applicants is accepted by a majority of respondents, the proportion favoring admission varies from a high of 82% ("a man from England who wants to come to the U.S. to be with his daughter who immigrated here ten years ago") to a slight majority of 52% (the Polish factory worker afraid of reprisal for involvement in Solidarity). Among the hypotheses that could be formulated on the basis of the rank order of the results in Table 16 is that family reunification (a major consideration in this country's present system of admitting non-refugee legal immigrants) is more persuasive to respondents than the desire to come to the U.S. to start a new life; the first and third ranked items both involve family reunification, whereas the two applicants wanting to start new lives fall in the eighth and ninth places. We do not see any particular sympathy for those fleeing communism, as the three cases referring directly or indirectly to communist governments are spread throughout the list (the Soviet Jew in second place, the Vietnamese "boat person" in seventh place and the Polish Solidarity member occupying the last-ranked position). Finally, we do not observe any bias toward the country's WASPish beginnings; compare the similar performance of the two applicants, one from England (ranked first) and the other from Taiwan (ranked third), who want to join daughters here, or look at the nearly identical results for a Mexican and an Englishman who want to start life anew in this country (rated eighth and ninth respectively).

Half of the ten hypothetical applicants possess attributes usually associated with refugee status or with people seeking asylum (the Soviet Jew, the Iranian student, the El Salvadoran, the Vietnamese and the Polish factory worker)*. Given the earlier finding of a greater tendency of respondents to favor reducing the number of entrants labelled "refugees" than "legal immigrants" (see page 38), we might expect that respondents would be less prone to admit these persons than those more closely resembling the typical immigrant to this country. The results in Table 16, though, show no systematic differences in how these five are treated in comparison to other would-be immigrants, as they appear throughout the rank order rather than being clustered at either end of the table. Among the possible interpretations of this result is that the comparatively greater antagonism towards refugees is more show than substance, that people are reacting more to the semantics of the questions than to factual considerations. Thus one might argue that the connotations of the word refugee (the outcast, downtrodden, dispossessed etc.) are more disparaging than the images usually associated with immigrants and thus lead to the above-noted difference.

*An asylum seeker is a foreign national already in the U.S. who asks to be allowed to stay here on the grounds of probable persecution for religious or political behavior, etc., if he or she returned home. The decision to admit a refugee is made when that individual is not in the United States. As a result of the limited time available during the interview, this distinction was not explicitly introduced in the questionnaire.

Public opinion research on other topics has often uncovered discrepancies in how people react to issues phrased differently. Thus virtually all Americans endorse basic civil liberties in the abstract, but many are willing to deny freedom of speech etc. in specific circumstances to individuals or organizations, such as communists or atheists, outside the political and cultural mainstream. The results of this section are similar in that they underscore the differences in responses depending upon the level of generality of the question. Especially intriguing about these attitudes toward immigration and refugees, though, is that the public is less tolerant at the more abstract level, and shows great receptivity as situations become more specific. It is suggested in the summary and conclusions section of this report that Americans respond much more positively to real-life situations involving identifiable individuals than to general arguments using abstract categories of persons.

Q. 11

Table 16

Respondents' Judgments as to Who Should Be Admitted to the United States

	Base Sample %	Blacks %	His-panics %
A man from England who wants to come to the United States to be with his daughter who immigrated here ten years ago			
Should be admitted	82	71	81
Should not be admitted	10	18	11
Not sure	8	10	8
A Jew from the Soviet Union facing persecution because he is Jewish			
Should be admitted	79	68	66
Should not be admitted	14	26	25
Not sure	7	6	9
A man from Taiwan who wants to come to the United States to be with his daughter who immigrated here ten years ago			
Should be admitted	75	67	72
Should not be admitted	16	24	22
Not sure	9	9	6
An Iranian student wants to be allowed to stay here permanently. He fears he will most certainly be shot if he goes home because of his past opposition to the Khomeni government.			
Should be admitted	67	72	55
Should not be admitted	23	18	36
Not sure	9	10	9
A man from El Salvador comes from a town in which many people were killed by fighters from both sides of that country's civil war. He fears that if he is forced to return to El Salvador he will be in great danger.			
Should be admitted	66	64	72
Should not be admitted	24	23	24
Not sure	10	13	4

- continued -

Table 16

Respondents' Judgments as to Who Should Be Admitted to the United States
(continued)

	Base Sample	Blacks	His-panics
	%	%	%
A person with job skills very much in demand in the United States			
Should be admitted	64	69	62
Should not be admitted	27	24	31
Not sure	8	7	6
A Vietnamese who fled that country by boat after being persecuted for his past association with U.S. policy			
Should be admitted	61	53	58
Should not be admitted	30	34	41
Not sure	9	13	1
A man from Mexico who wants to start a new life for himself in this country			
Should be admitted	57	62	61
Should not be admitted	32	28	34
Not sure	11	10	5
A man from England who wants to start a new life for himself in this country			
Should be admitted	52	52	51
Should not be admitted	37	38	41
Not sure	12	10	8
A former factory worker from Poland who was active in that country's Solidarity movement seeking liberalization of the communist regime. Although he will be in no physical danger if he returns to Poland, he may never get a job there because of his past political activity			
Should be admitted	52	43	45
Should not be admitted	37	44	49
Not sure	11	13	6
(Base)	(750)	(100)	(103)

IV. THE RELATION BETWEEN ATTITUDES TOWARD IMMIGRATION AND OTHER POLICY ISSUES

FINDING: Majorities of respondents favor federally guaranteed jobs, prayer in public school, and quotas on foreign imports, while opinions are about equally divided on the proper size of the defense budget.

Hostility to refugees and immigrants is correlated with the perception of a serious communist threat, with support for import quotas, and with endorsement of prayer in public schools. The associations between attitudes toward immigrants and economic issues are appreciably weaker.

DISCUSSION

The questionnaire included attitudinal measures toward four issues seemingly unrelated to immigration -- federal government job guarantees, prayer in public schools, the use of quotas on imported products, and defense spending. Our motive in including these items is not so much to know what people think about these issues as objects of interest in their own right as it is to explore the relation between attitudes toward immigration and those with respect to other important policy areas that are in the public arena.

The first of these, government guarantees of a job for anyone who wants one, is virtually an article of faith among classic New Dealers who since the 1930's have advocated government intervention in the economy to achieve basic economic goals such as full employment. This and the other items listed in Table 17 are especially timely in early 1984.

The degree of endorsement of these policy positions is generally high, as substantial majorities favor federal job guarantees, prayer in public schools, and import quotas on foreign goods. Opinions are about equally split over current levels of defense spending. Unlike most of the other results presented in this report, there are sizeable differences in how blacks answer these questions; they are more likely to agree with each statement.

The analysis of the relationships between these different issue areas involved tabulating each measure by the others and examining the pattern of associations among the items. In view of the volume of these tables, they are not reproduced here but are found in the complete tabulations accompanying this report. The results, though, can be easily summarized in prose.

As expected, there are reasonably strong positive correlations between various items measuring attitudes toward immigration and refugees. Thus members of the sample who agree that there are too many foreigners coming into the United States also tend to attach a greater importance to the problem of refugees (Q. 1) and to favor sharp reductions in the number allowed into the country (Q. 10).

More surprising are the moderately strong correlations between attitudes toward immigration and three other issue areas, import quotas, school prayer, and the threat of

communism. Thus respondents with less tolerant attitudes toward immigrants tend also to favor imposing quotas on foreign products, to support allowing prayer in public schools, and to perceive a greater danger from communism. Some of the null findings are equally interesting. There is no correlation between attitudes toward immigration and either population growth or environmental dangers. Similarly, attitudes toward immigration and refugees generally show weak or null correlations with items measuring the importance of unemployment or poor people not getting enough to eat (Q. 1), or federal job guarantees. (One exception is that persons who think there are too many foreigners entering the country are slightly more likely to favor federal job guarantees.)

A related finding is the lack of any consistent correlations between attitudes toward refugees and either self-described political ideology (e.g., conservative, moderate, liberal) or political party identification. The latter two measures, long considered essential components of the political scientist's analytical concepts, do correlate well with several other attitudinal measures, especially those referring to economic issues.

Serious academic students of public opinion speak of the substantive dimensions thought to underlie the responses to specific attitudinal items. Thus items that, for example, measure various aspects of government intervention in the economy and that are mutually intercorrelated are said to

reflect a deeper, more basic economic liberalism/conservatism dimension. The message of the analysis of this section -- necessarily a limited and tentative one in view of the very small number of items that could be accommodated in the survey instrument -- is that attitudes toward immigration do not seem to be related to the traditional economic concerns that have been the focus of much policy debate in this country for the last several decades (this despite the fear noted on page 39 that refugees take jobs away from Americans). Similarly, they are not associated with the traditional political cleavages of party affiliation or the fundamental left-right continuum. On the other hand, what we do find is a relation between a world view hostile to refugees and one that is apparently distrustful of things foreign and that reacts with alarm to the increasing secularization of society.

Q. 2

Table 17

Attitudes Toward Selected Non-Immigration Issues

	Base Sample	Blacks	His-panics
	%	%	%
The federal government should see to it that anyone who wants a job can get one			
Agree strongly	39	66	48
Agree somewhat	23	22	24
Disagree somewhat	18	4	14
Disagree strongly	16	7	9
Not sure	3	0	4
A few minutes each day should be set aside for prayer in public schools			
Agree strongly	56	73	49
Agree somewhat	19	12	23
Disagree somewhat	10	8	15
Disagree strongly	11	7	7
Not sure	4	1	6
We should have import quotas to limit the amount of foreign products coming into this country from Japan, Western Europe and other countries			
Agree strongly	51	68	42
Agree somewhat	26	21	22
Disagree somewhat	9	6	6
Disagree strongly	8	2	22
Not sure	5	3	7
The United States is spending too much money on defense			
Agree strongly	32	57	43
Agree somewhat	15	12	16
Disagree somewhat	19	8	22
Disagree strongly	29	16	15
Not sure	5	7	4
(Base)	(750)	(100)	(103)

APPENDIX A

Methodology

This study used a random sample of 750 adults (age 18 and over) selected from across the 48 continental United States. Since blacks and Hispanics have figured prominetly in the debate over immigration issues, the base sample was supplemented by oversampled black and Hispanic respondents such that at least 100 interviews were completed in each of these population subgroups. A total of 100 blacks and 103 Hispanics were interviewed, while total completions number 832. The sampling plan is summarized as follows:

Race/Ethnicity	Base Sample	Black Oversample	Hispanic Oversample
White	605	--	--
Black	84	16	--
Hispanic	37	--	66
Other, refused	24	--	--
Total	750	16	66

Random digit dialing was used throughout the study to eliminate possible biases that could result from unlisted and newly installed numbers if directory listing formed the basis of the sample. All interviews were conducted during the period February 2 through 7 from a centralized telephone interviewing facility. To avoid any possible bias, respondents were not told that the survey was conducted for the U.S. Committee for Refugees. Similarly, the subject of the poll was described as "important issues facing the country" to ensure an accurate assessment of the perceived relative importance of selected problems as measured in Question 1.

The questionnaire was pretested among fourteen respondents to verify its length and to identify any areas possibly posing problems to respondents. The final version of the instrument and a Spanish translation for use as necessary among Spanish-speaking respondents are reproduced in this appendix. The rate of refusal encountered during the fieldwork (that is, those who either would not grant an interview when asked or terminated the interview after it had begun) was 21.6% --- a typical figure for a general public survey.

Inspection of the respondent demographics showed that, as is usual with telephone surveys that do not employ quotas by educational level, the sample tended to overrepresent better educated respondents and underrepresent those with less than a high school diploma. To correct for this condition, all respondents were weighted such that the distribution of educational attainment in the weighted sample accurately reflects that of the population as a whole. Figures in this report as well as those in the complete computer tabulations are based on the weighted data. Comparison of the weighted and unweighted results shows that correcting for education has but a small effect on the results, as the number of respondents giving any answer never differs by more than a few percentage points. The substantive conclusions one would draw from the data in either case remain the same.

The 95% confidence interval of a dichotomous item with equally distributed marginals is ±3.6 percentage points for a random sample of 750 respondents. As a result of other error sources, weighting, etc., the actual error will be somewhat larger than this.

APPENDIX B

Demographics of Samples

	Base Sample %	Blacks %	Hispanics %
Sex			
Male	46	42	61
Female	54	58	39
Region			
Northeast	24	35	21
North Central	25	16	13
South	33	40	37
West	17	9	29
Race/ethnicity			
White	80	0	0
Black	12	100	0
Hispanic	5	0	100
Asian	2	0	0
Other	*	0	0
Refused	1	0	0
When ancestors first came to the United States			
Since World War II	4	6	26
Before World War II but after World War I	10	8	12
Before World War I but after the Civil War	33	15	21
Before the Civil War	40	51	19
Not sure	14	21	21
Self-described political ideology			
Conservative	35	21	36
Moderate	39	36	27
Liberal	18	34	28
Not sure, refused	8	9	9
Party identification			
Republican	26	10	21
Democrat	36	73	42
Independent	31	8	31
Other	*	0	0
Not sure, refused	7	9	5

- continued -

APPENDIX B

Demographics of Samples
(continued)

	Base Sample %	Blacks %	Hispanics %
Religious background			
Protestant	61	83	19
Catholic	28	9	75
Jewish	3	0	*
Other	2	1	3
None	5	5	2
Refused	2	2	0
Age			
18 to 24	14	15	29
25 to 34	25	26	35
35 to 44	15	20	20
45 to 54	14	18	7
55 to 64	16	12	1
65 and over	16	10	9
Refused	*	0	0
Education (unweighted)			
Less than high school graduate	14	21	21
High school graduate, including vocational or technical school	37	35	33
Some college or two-year college degree	22	23	30
Graduated from a four-year college	14	13	12
Attended graduate school	12	8	4
Refused	*	0	0
Education (weighted to conform to population figures)			
Less than high school graduate	30	40	52
High school graduate, including vocational or technical school	38	36	30
Some college or two-year college degree	16	15	12
Graduated from a four-year college	8	5	4
Attended graduate school	7	3	3

*Indicates greater than 0 but less than 1/2 of 1%.

APPENDIX C

QUESTIONNAIRES

KANE, PARSONS & ASSOCIATES
1995 Broadway
New York, New York 10023
(212)799-4100

(For Office Use Only)

P.N. 1296

February, 1984

Interviewer: _____

SAMPLE

REFUGEES STUDY

Base Sample----------4-1
Black Oversample------ 2
Hispanic Oversample--- 3

DO NOT ASK --- RECORD ONLY

SEX: Male----------5-1 Female---------- 2

STATE:

Alabama----------6-7-01		Montana----------	25
Arizona----------	02	Nebraska----------	26
Arkansas----------	03	Nevada----------	27
California----------	04	New Hampshire----------	28
Colorado----------	05	New Jersey----------	29
Connecticut----------	06	New Mexico----------	30
Delaware----------	07	New York----------	31
District of Columbia---	08	North Carolina----------	32
Florida----------	09	North Dakota----------	33
Georgia----------	10	Ohio----------	34
Idaho----------	11	Oklahoma----------	35
Illinois----------	12	Oregon----------	36
Indiana----------	13	Pennsylvania----------	37
Iowa----------	14	Rhode Island----------	38
Kansas----------	15	South Carolina----------	39
Kentucky----------	16	South Dakota----------	40
Louisiana----------	17	Tennessee----------	41
Maine----------	18	Texas----------	42
Maryland----------	19	Utah----------	43
Massachusetts----------	20	Vermont----------	44
Michigan----------	21	Virginia----------	45
Minnesota----------	22	Washington----------	46
Mississippi----------	23	West Virginia----------	47
Missouri----------	24	Wisconsin----------	48
		Wyoming----------	49

Hello, this is (READ INTERVIEWER'S NAME) calling from Kane, Parsons & Associates, the nationally known public opinion research firm. We are doing a survey to find out what people all over the United States think about important issues facing the country and we would like to ask you a few questions. If you don't know or have no opinion about any question, just say so. To begin . . .

1. Let's think about some of the problems facing our country. Would you say (READ EACH ITEM) is a very important problem, somewhat important, not very important, or not at all important?

	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Not Very Important	Not At All Important	Not Sure
Unemployment---------- 8-1	2	3	4	5	
Protecting the environment-- 9-1	2	3	4	5	
Population growth----------10-1	2	3	4	5	
Poor people not getting enough to eat----------11-1	2	3	4	5	
Refugees coming into the United States----------12-1	2	3	4	5	
The threat to our society from communism----------13-1	2	3	4	5	

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

2. Please tell me if you agree strongly, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat or disagree strongly with each of the following statements.

	Agree Strongly	Agree Somewhat	Disagree Somewhat	Disagree Strongly	Not Sure
The federal government should see to it that anyone who wants a job can get one-------14-1		2	3	4	5
A few minutes each day should be set aside for prayer in public schools----------15-1		2	3	4	5
There are too many foreigners coming to live in the United States these days----------16-1		2	3	4	5
We should have import quotas to limit the amount of foreign products coming into this country from Japan, Western Europe and other countries----17-1		2	3	4	5
The U.S. is spending too much money on defense----------18-1		2	3	4	5

3. We've heard a lot recently about refugees and immigrants. Do you think these are just different terms for the same kind of people, or do the terms "refugees" and "immigrants" describe people coming into the U.S. for different purposes and by different means?

Just different terms for same kind of people----------19-1		(SKIP TO Q. 5)
Describe people coming into the U.S. for different purposes by different means----------	2	(ASK Q. 4)
Not sure----------	3	(SKIP TO Q. 5)

(ASK Q. 4 ONLY IF ANSWERED "FOR DIFFERENT PURPOSES AND MEANS" IN Q. 3)

4. What do you think are the main differences between refugees and immigrants? (PROBE) What else?

20-

21-

22-

23-

ASK EVERYONE

5. Let's think more specifically about three different terms used to describe people coming into the U.S.: refugees, legal immigrants and illegal immigrants. Which of these groups do you think could best be described as (READ EACH ITEM): refugees, legal immigrants, or illegal immigrants? (MULTIPLE RECORD AS NECESSARY)

	Refugees	Legal Immigrants	Illegal Immigrants	All Three (VOL.)	Describes None (VOL.)	Not Sure
Are fleeing persecution for their political beliefs---------24-1		2	3	4	5	6
Want to come to the U.S. because of better economic opportunities here----------25-1		2	3	4	5	6
Are frequently coming to the U.S. to be with family members and close relatives already in this country----------26-1		2	3	4	5	6
Don't tend to fit into American society very well----------27-1		2	3	4	5	6

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

6. Let's think about the numbers of different kinds of people coming into the U.S. during the last ten years. Which do you think is the largest group coming in the United States to stay each year: refugees, legal immigrants or illegal immigrants? (RECORD ANSWER BELOW UNDER "Q. 6 -- LARGEST")

	Q. 6 Largest		Q. 7 Second Largest
Refugees	28-1	ASK Q. 7	29-1
Legal immigrants	2	ASK Q. 7	2
Illegal immigrants	3	ASK Q. 7	3
Not sure	4	SKIP TO Q. 8	4
(SKIP TO Q. 8 IF "NOT SURE" IN Q. 6)			30-

7. And which group do you think is the second largest (READ TWO GROUPS NOT MENTIONED IN Q. 6 AND RECORD ABOVE UNDER "Q. 7 - SECOND LARGEST").

ASK EVERYONE

8. We'd like to know where people think refugees entering the U.S. during the last ten years have come from. For each country I name, please tell me if it is one of the countries from which the largest number of refugees come to the U.S., if a substantial number of refugees come here from that country but not enough to be one of the largest sources, or if only few or no refugees come to the U.S. from that country. Let me read you the entire list first, and then we'll take each country one at a time. (READ ENTIRE LIST ONCE, THEN GO BACK TO BEGINNING; REPEAT RESPONSE CATEGORIES AS NECESSARY)

	One of Countries From Which Largest Number Of Refugees Come To U.S.	Substantial Number, But Not One Of Largest Sources	Few Or No Refugees From That Country	Not Sure
Vietnam	31-1	2	3	4
Cuba	32-1	2	3	4
Italy	33-1	2	3	4
El Salvador	34-1	2	3	4
Iran	35-1	2	3	4
Mexico	36-1	2	3	4
The Soviet Union	37-1	2	3	4
Korea	38-1	2	3	4
Haiti	39-1	2	3	4

9. Here are some arguments that could be made in the debate about how many refugees to let into the United States each year. For each argument, please tell me if you personally think it is a good reason not to let refugees into the United States, if you personally think it is a good reason for admitting refugees, if the argument is true but has no relevance as to whether we should admit refugees, or if it is not true. (READ EACH STATEMENT

	Is A Good Reason Not To Let In Refugees	Is A Good Reason For Admitting Refugees	True, But Has No Relevance	Not True	Not Sure
Since the U.S. is a nation built by immigrants, we should not close our doors now to people fleeing persecution in other countries	40-1	2	3	4	5
Refugees take jobs away from American workers	41-1	2	3	4	5
Refugees don't assimilate into American society well	42-1	2	3	4	5
Willingness to admit refugees is strong proof of our humanitarian values	43-1	2	3	4	5
Most refugees admitted to the U.S. wind up on welfare	44-1	2	3	4	5
Many refugees admitted to the U.S. in recent decades have made significant contributions to America's economic and cultural life	45-1	2	3	4	5

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

- continued -

9. (continued)

	Is A Good Reason Not To Let In Refugees	Is A Good Reason For Admitting Refugees	True, But Has No Relevance	Not True	Not Sure
By taking in refugees, the U.S. demonstrates its moral leadership of the free world----------46-1		2	3	4	5
Since the number of refugees coming into the U.S. is small compared to the total size of our country, they don't place a substantial burden on our society----------47-1		2	3	4	5

10. Let's think about how many people of different types should come into the United States. Should the number of refugees coming into the U.S. each year be raised a lot, raised a little, kept the same as now, lowered a little, or lowered a lot? (ASK FOR EACH TYPE)

	Raised A Lot	Raised A Little	Kept Same As Now	Lowered A Little	Lowered A Lot	Not Sure
Refugees----------48-1	2	3	4	5	6	
Legal immigrants----49-1	2	3	4	5	6	
Illegal immigrants--50-1	2	3	4	5	6	

ASK EVERYONE

11. Let's imagine that you were a U.S. government official and that you job was to make decisions about who should and should not be admitted into this country. For each of the persons I describe, please tell me if you think that person should or should not be admitted into the U.S. The first is . . .

	Should Be Admitted	Should Not Be Admitted	Not Sure
A man from England who wants to come to the U.S. to be with his daughter who immigrated here ten years ago----------51-1		2	3
A Jew from the Soviet Union facing persecution because he is Jewish----------52-1		2	3
A man from Mexico who wants to start a new life for himself in this country----------53-1		2	3
A Vietnamese who fled that country by boat after being persecuted for his past association with U.S. policy----------54-1		2	3
A person with job skills very much in demand in the U.S.----------55-1		2	3
A man from Taiwan who wants to come to the U.S. to be with his daughter who immigrated here ten years ago----------56-1		2	3
A man from El Salvador comes from a town in which many people were killed by fighters from both sides of that country's civil war. He fears that if he is forced to return to El Salvador he will be in great danger---------- 57-1		2	3
A man from England who wants to start a new life for himself in this country---------- 58-1		2	3
An Iranian student wants to be allowed to stay here permanently. He fears he will most certainly be shot if he goes home because of his past opposition to the Khomeni government---------- 59-1		2	3
A former factory worker from Poland who was active in that country's Solidarity movement seeking liberalization of the communist regime. Although he will be in no physical danger if he returns to Poland, he may never get a job there because of his past political activity---------- 60-1		2	3

12. Which of the following statements best describes your knowledge and attitude toward refugees? (READ LIST; START WITH ITEM MARKED AND PROCEED UP OR DOWN AS APPROPRIATE; SINGLE RECORD ONLY)

61-

START____ You don't know enough to really have meaningful opinions on the issue of refugees----------62-1
You don't know very much about refugees but you do have opinions on these matters---------- 2
You know something about refugees but are not sure what policies our country should adopt---------- 3
____ You are well informed about the issue and have opinions about what should be done---------- 4
Not sure (DO NOT READ)---------- 5

13. Finally, just a few questions for classification purposes only. How would you describe your racial or ethnic background? Are you white, black, Hispanic, Asian, or of some other racial or ethnic background? (MULTIPLE RECORD IF NECESSARY)

White----------63-1
Black---------- 2
Hispanic---------- 3
Asian---------- 4
Other_____-- 5
(SPECIFY)
Refused---------- 6

14. When did your ancestors first come to the United States -- since World War II, before World War II but after the first World War, before the first World War but after the Civil War, or before the Civil War? (MULTIPLE RECORD IF NECESSARY)

Since World War II---------64-1
Before World War II but after World War I-------- 2
Before World War I but after the Civil War---------- 3
Before the Civil War---------- 4
Not sure---------- 5

15. In terms of your overall attitude toward politics, would you describe yourself as conservative, moderate or liberal?

Conservative---------65-1
Moderate---------- 2
Liberal---------- 3
Not sure, refused---------- 4

16. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an independent, or what?

Republican----------66-1
Democrat---------- 2
Independent---------- 3
Other_____--- 4
(SPECIFY)
Not sure, refused---------- 5

17. What is your religious background -- Protestant, Catholic, Jewish or what?

Protestant----------67-1
Catholic---------- 2
Jewish---------- 3
Other_____--- 4
(SPECIFY)
None---------- 5
Refused---------- 6

18. In which of the following age categories do you belong? (READ CATEGORIES)

18-24------68-1
25-34------ 2
35-44------ 3
45-54------- 4
55-64---------- 5
65 and over---- 6
Refused (VOL.)- 7

19. What is the highest level of education you have completed? (READ CATEGORIES)

Less than high school graduate----------69-1
High school graduate, including vocational or technical school---------- 2
Some college or a two-year college degree---------- 3
Graduated from a four-year college---------- 4
Attended graduate school---------- 5
Refused (VOL.)---------- 6

PLEASE PRINT CLEARLY

_____
(FIRST NAME ONLY OF RESPONDENT)

ZIP CODE:_____

(_____) -_____
(AREA CODE) (TELEPHONE NUMBER)

THIS IS A BONA FIDE INTERVIEW AND HAS BEEN OBTAINED ACCORDING TO QUOTA AND ALL INTERVIEWER SPECIFICATIONS.

Length of Interviewing Time:_____
(MINUTES)

Validated by:_____

On (Date):_____

KANE, PARSONS & ASSOCIATES
1995 Broadway
New York, New York 10023

P.N. 1296

February, 1984

Interviewer: _____

(For Office Use Only)

SAMPLE

Base Sample---------- 4-1
Black Oversample------ 2
Hispanic Oversample--- 3

REFUGEES STUDY

DO NOT ASK --- RECORD ONLY

Sex: Male---------- 5-1 Female---------- 2

State:

Alabama----------	6-7- 01		Montana----------		25
Arizona----------		02	Nebraska----------		26
Arkansas----------		03	Nevada----------		27
California----------		04	New Hampshire----------		28
Colorado----------		05	New Jersey----------		29
Connecticut----------		06	New Mexico----------		30
Delaware----------		07	New York----------		31
District of Columbia--		08	North Carolina----------		32
Florida----------		09	North Dakota----------		33
Georgia----------		10	Ohio----------		34
Idaho----------		11	Oklahoma----------		35
Illinois----------		12	Oregon----------		36
Indiana----------		13	Pennsylvania----------		37
Iowa----------		14	Rhode Island----------		38
Kansas----------		15	South Carolina----------		39
Kentucky----------		16	South Dakota----------		40
Louisiana----------		17	Tennessee----------		41
Maine----------		18	Texas----------		42
Maryland----------		19	Utah----------		43
Massachusetts----------		20	Vermont----------		44
Michigan----------		21	Virginia----------		45
Minnesota----------		22	Washington----------		46
Mississippi----------		23	West Virginia----------		47
Missouri----------		24	Wisconsin----------		48
			Wyoming----------		49

Hola, mi nombre es (READ INTERVIEWER'S NAME) y llamo de parte de Kane, Parsons and Associates, la compañía de investigación de la opinión pública reconocida nacionalmente. Estamos tomando una encuesta para averiguar lo que piensan las personas de todos partes de los E.U. sobre los problemas importantes que afectan a la nación y quisiéramos hacerle algunas preguntas. Si no sabe o no tiene una opinion sobre a cualquier pregunta, digamelo. Para empezar...

1. Pensemos en algunos de los problemas que afectan a nuestro país. Diréa usted (READ EACH ITEM) que es un problema de mucha importancia, de alguna importancia, de poca importancia o de ninguna importancia.

	Mucha Importancia	Alguna Importancia	Poca Importancia	Ninguna Importancia	No Está Seguro
Desempleo---------- 8-1		2	3	4	5
Protección de ambiente---------- 9-1		2	3	4	5
Crecimiento de la población---------10-1		2	3	4	5
Falta de alimentos para los pobres----------11-1		2	3	4	5
La llegada de refugiados a los E.U.----------12-1		2	3	4	5
La amenaza del comunismo a nuestra sociedad----------13-1		2	3	4	5

2. Por favor, díganme si está muy de acuerdo, un poco de acuerdo, un poco en desacuerdo o muy en desacuerdo con las siguientes proposiciones.

	Muy de Acuerdo	Un Poco de Acuerdo	Un Poco en Desacuerdo	Muy en Desacuerdo	No Está Seguro
El gobierno federal debe ver que cualquiera que quiera trabajo lo pueda conseguir----------14-1		2	3	4	5
Deben reservarse algunos minutos cada día para rezar en las escuelas publicas----------15-1		2	3	4	5
Hay demasiados extranjeros viniendo a vivir a los E.U. estos dias----------16-1		2	3	4	5
Debemos imponer cuotas que limiten la cantidad de productos extranjeros viniendo del Japón, Europa Occidental y otros países----------17-1		2	3	4	5
Los E.U. está gastando demasiado dinero en defensa----------18-1		2	3	4	5

3. Recientemente se oye mucho sobre refugiados e inmigrantes. ¿Cree usted que estos son solamente términos diferentes que describen al mismo grupo de personas, o los términos "refugiados" e "inmigrantes" describen a personas entrando a los E.U. por diferentes motivos y diferentes medios?

Son solamente términos diferentes para el mismo grupo de personas---19-1		(SKIP TO Q. 5)
Describen personas viniendo a los E.U. por diferentes motivos y y diferentes medios----------	2	(ASK Q. 4)
No está seguro----------	3	(SKIP TO Q. 5)

(ASK Q. 4 ONLY IF ANSWERED "FOR DIFFERENT PURPOSES AND MEANS" IN Q. 3)

4. ¿Cuáles cree son las diferencias principales entre refugiados e inmigrantes? (PROBE) ¿Que más?

20-

21-

22-

23-

ASK EVERYONE

5. Pensemos más específicamente sobre tres términos diferentes que se usan para describir a las personas viniendo a los E.U.: refugiados, inmigrantes legales e inmigrantes ilegales. ¿A cuál de estos grupos usted describiría como: refugiados, inmigrantes legales o inmigrantes ilegales? (READ EACH ITEM) (MULTIPLE RECORD AS NECESSARY)

	Refugiados	Inmigrantes Legales	Inmigrantes Ilegales	Los Tres	Ninguno	No Está Seguro
Huyen por que son perseguidos por sus ideas políticas---------24-1		2	3	4	5	6
Desean venir a los U.S. en busca de mejores oportunidades económicas----------25-1		2	3	4	5	6
Vienen frecuentemente para estar con miembres cercanos de sus familias quieres ya están en este país----------26-1		2	3	4	5	6
No tienden a amoldarse bien a la sociedad Americana----------27-1		2	3	4	5	6

6. Pensemos en el número de diferentes tipos de personas que han venido a los E.U. durante los últimos diez años. ¿Cuál grupo cree usted es el mayor en venir a quedarse en los E.U. cada año: refugiados, inmigrantes legales o inmigrantes ilegales? (RECORD ANSWER BELOW UNDER "Q. 6 -- Largest")

	Q. 6 Mayor		Q. 7 Segundo Mayor
Refugiados	28-1	(ASK Q. 7)	29-1
Inmigrantes legales	2	(ASK Q. 7)	2
Inmigrantes ilegales	3	(ASK Q. 7)	3
No está seguro	4	(SKIP TO Q. 8)	4
(SKIP TO Q. 8 IF "NOT SURE" IN Q. 6)			30-

7. ¿Y cuál grupo cree usted es el segundo mayor (READ TWO GROUPS NOT MENTIONED IN Q. 6 AND RECORD ABOVE UNDER "Q. 7 - SECOND LARGEST")?

ASK EVERYONE

8. Queremos saber de donde las personas creen que vienen los refugiados que han entrado en los E.U. durante los últimos diez años. De cada país que le nombre, dígame si este es uno de los países de donde proviene el mayor número de refugiados a los E.U., si un número considerable de refugiados viene de ese país pero no suficiente para constituir una de los mayores fuentes, o si solamente unos pocos o ningun refugiado viene de ese país a los E.U. Permítame leerle la lista entera primero, y entonces empezaremos con cada país a su vez. (READ ENTIRE LIST ONCE, THEN GO BACK TO BEGINNING; REPEAT RESPONSE CATEGORIES AS NECESSARY)

	Uno de los Países de Donde Viene el Mayor Número de Refugiados a los E.U.	Número Considerable Pero no es la Fuente Principal de Refugiados	Pocos o Ningun Refugiado de ese País	No Está Seguro
Vietnam	31-1	2	3	4
Cuba	32-1	2	3	4
Italia	33-1	2	3	4
El Salvador	34-1	2	3	4
Irán	35-1	2	3	4
Méjico	36-1	2	3	4
Union Soviética	37-1	2	3	4
Korea	38-1	2	3	4
Haití	39-1	2	3	4

9. Estas son algunas de las ideas que se podrían formular en un debate sobre el número de refugiados a los que se le debería permitir entrar a los E.U. anualmente. Para cada idea, dígame si usted personalmente cree que esta es una buena razón para negarle entrada a los refugiados a los E.U., si personalmente cree que es una buena razón para admitirlos, si es cierto pero irrelevante al determinar si le permitimos la entrada a los refugiados.

	Es Buena Razón Para Negarle la Entrada a los Refugiados	Es Buena Razón Para Permiterle la Entrada a los Refugiados	Cierto Pero Irrelevante	Falso	No Está Seguro
Debido a que la nación de los E.U. hue construída por inmigrantes, no debemos cerrarles las puertas ahora a aquellas personas que huyen a la persecución en otros países 40-1		2	3	4	5
Los refugiados le quitan empleos a los trabajadores Americanos 41-1		2	3	4	5

- continued -

9. (continued)

	Es Buena Razón Para Negarle la Entrada a los Refugiados	Es Buena Razón Para Permiterle la Entrada a los Refugiados	Cierto Pero Irrelevante	Falso	No Está Seguro
Los refugiados no se amoldan bien a la sociedad Americana----------42-1		2	3	4	5
El deseo de permitirle entrada a los refugiados es una prueba sólida de nuestros valores humanitarios----------43-1		2	3	4	5
La mayoría de refugiados admitidos en los E.U. terminan recibiendo asistencia pública----------44-1		2	3	4	5
Muchos refugiados admitidos a los E.U. en las últimas decenias han contribuido grandemente a la vida económica y cultural de América----------45-1		2	3	4	5
Al permitirle entrada a los refugiados, los E.U. demuestra su liberato moral en el mundo libre----------46-1		2	3	4	5
Ya que el número de refugiados entrando a los E.U. es pequéno comparado con el tamano total de nuestro país, estos no constituyen una carga considerable a nuestra sociedad----------47-1		2	3	4	5

10. Pensemos en cuantas personas de diferentes tipos deben venir a los E.U. El número de refugiados entrando a los E.U. debe aumenta grandemente, aumentar un poco, mantenerse igual que ahora, disminuir un poco, o disminuir grandemente.

	Aumentar Grandemente	Aumentar un Poco	Igual	Disminuir Un Poco	Disminuir Grandemente	No Está Seguro
Refugiados----------48-1	2	3	4	5	6	
Inmigrantes legales-----49-1	2	3	4	5	6	
Inmigrantes ilegales----50-1	2	3	4	5	6	

ASK EVERYONE

11. Imaginemos que usted es un oficial del gobierno de los E.U. y que su trabajo consiste en decidir quien debe o no debe entrar a este país. Para cada persona que yo le describo, dígame si usted cree que esta persona debe o no debe entrar a los E.U. La primera persona es...

	Debe Entrar	No Debe Entrar	No Está Seguro
Un hombre de Inglaterra que viene a los E.U. a reunirse con su hija quien inmigró a este pais hace 10 años----------51-1		2	3
Un judío da la Union Sovietica que es perseguido por ser judío----------52-1		2	3
Un hombre de Méjico que quiere empezar una nueva vida en los E.U.----------53-1		2	3
Un vietnamita que escapó en bote despues de haber sido perseguido por sus previas conecciones con el gobierno de los E.U.----------54-1		2	3

- continued -

11. (continued)

	Debe Entrar	No Debe Entrar	No Está Seguro
Una persona con destrezas que están muy en demanda en los E.U.	55-1	2	3
Un hombre de Taiwan que quiere venir a los E.U. para estar con su hija quien inmigró hace 10 años	56-1	2	3
Un hombre de El Salvador que viene de un pueblo donde muchas personas fueron asesinadas por los combatientes de ambos lados en la guerra civil de ese país. El teme que si es forcado a regresar a El Salvador correrría gran riesgo	57-1	2	3
Un hombre de Inglaterra que quiere empezar una nueva vida en los E.U.	58-1	2	3
Un estudiante iraní que quiere quedarse permanentemente. Teme que lo más seguro es que lo maten si regresara a su país debido a su pasada oposición al gobierno de Khomeni	59-1	2	3
Un trabajador de fábrica de Polonia que participó activamente en el movimiento de solidaridad buscando una liberalización del régimen comunista. Aunque no corre riesgo físico, probablemente nunca podrá conseguir trabajo allí debido a sus actividades políticas en el pasado	60-1	2	3

12. ¿Cual de las próximas líneas describe mejor su conocimiento y actitud sobre los refugiados? (READ LIST; START WITH ITEM MARKED AND PROCEED UP OR DOWN AS APPROPRIATE; SINGLE RECORD ONLY)

61-

EMPIECE_____ No sabe suficiente para tener una opinión sólida sobre el problema de los refugiados 62-1
No sabe mucho sobre refugiados pero tiene opiniones sobre estos asuntos 2
Sabe algo sobre los refugiados pero no está seguro sobre la posición que debe tomar este país 3
_____ Está muy bien informado sobre el problema y tiene opiniones sobre que debe hacerse al respecto 4
No está seguro (DO NOT READ) 5

13. Finalmente, sólo unas para propósitos de clasificación. ¿Como describiría su herencia racial o étnica? ¿Es blanco, negro, hispano, asiático, o de algun otro grupo racial o étnico? (MULTIPLE RECORD IF NECESSARY)

Blanco 63-1
Negro 2
Hispano 3
Asiático 4
Otro --- 5
_____ (SPECIFY)
Rehusó 6

14. ¿Cuando vinieron sus antepasados por primera vez a los E.U. -- después de la Segunda Guerra Mundial, antes de la Segunda Guerra Mundial pero después de la Primera Guerra Mundial, antes de la Primera Guerra Mundial pero después de la Guerra Civil, o antes de la Guerra Civil? (MULTIPLE RECORD IF NECESSARY)

Después de la Segunda Guerra Mundial 64-1
Antes de la Segunda Guerra Mundia pero después de la Primera Guerra Mundial 2
Antes de la Primera Guerra Mundial pero después de la Guerra Civil 3
Antes de la Guerra Civil 4
No está seguro 5

15. ¿En términos general sobre política, se describiría usted como conservador, moderado, o liberal?

Conservador----------65-1
Moderado---------- 2
Liberal---------- 3
No está seguro; rehusó---- 4

16. ¿Hablando en general, usted se considera Republicano, Demócrata, Independiente, o qué?

Republicano----------66-1
Demócrata---------- 2
Independiente---------- 3
Otro _____ --- 4
(SPECIFY)
No está seguro, rehuzó---------- 5

17. ¿Cuál es su religión -- Protestante, Católico, Judío o qué?

Protestante----------67-1
Católico---------- 2
Judío---------- 3
Otro--- --- 4
_____
(SPECIFY)
Ninguno---------- 5
Rehuzó---------- 6

18. ¿Usted está entre cual de estas categorías de edad? (READ CATEGORIES)

18-24---------68-1
25-34--------- 2
35-44---------- 3
45-54---------- 4
55-64---------- 5
65 y mayor-------- 6
Rehuzo (VOL.)---- 7

19. ¿Cuál es el nivel educacional más alto que usted a completado? (READ CATEGORIES)

Menos de escuela secundaria----------69-1
Graduado de escuela secundaria incluyendo escuela vocacional o técnica---------- 2
Alguna educación en colegio o colegio de 2 años---------- 3
Graduado de colegio de 4 años---------- 4
Escuela graduada---------- 5
Rehuzó (VOL.)---------- 6

PLEASE PRINT CLEARLY

_____
(FIRST NAME ONLY OF RESONDENT)

_____
(ZIP CODE)

( ) -
(AREA CODE) (TELEPHONE NUMBER)

THIS IS A BONA FIDE INTERVIEW AND HAS BEEN OBTAINED ACCORDING TO QUOTA AND ALL INTERVIEWER SPECIFICATIONS.

Length of Interviewing time

_____Minutes

Validated by:

_____

On (Date):_____